

Message Text

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CINCUSARPAC

COMUSTDC

CG US FORCES KOREA

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CINCPAC FOR POLAD

DIA FOR DI4

DA FOR DAMI-FIE

EO 11652: GDS

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SUBJ: NEW POLITBURO

REF: HONG KONG 8680

SUMMARY. THE NEW POLITBURO SHOULD PLEASE CHOU: IT INSTALLS A
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COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP ARRANGEMENT FOR SUCCESSION, CUTS BACK SHARPLY

THE MILITARY REPRESENTATION, AND PASSES OVER FOR PROMOTION CULTURAL REVOLUTION EXTREMISTS AND MAO INTIMATES CHIANG CHING AND YAO WEN-YUAN. THE NUMBER OF MEMBERS WITH PROVINCIAL CONNECTIONS IS DOUBLED, BUT THE NEW MEMBERS ARE CIVILIAN RATHER THAN MILITARY FIGURES. WANG HUNG-WEN HAS SKYROCKETED TO THE NUMBER THREE POSITION, AS A RESULT OF MAO'S SPECIAL FAVOR AND CHANG CHUN-CHIAO'S PATRONAGE. AT THE PRESENT, HIS MOST IMPORTANT IMMEDIATE FUNCTION IS PROBABLY TO ADD A NEEDED TOUCH OF YOUTH TO THE LEADERSHIP. CHANG LOOKS TO BE THE NEW PARTY SECRETARY GENERAL, A POWERFUL POSITION. END SUMMARY

1. THE NEW POLITBURO ANNOUNCED BY NCNA AUGUST 30 INSTALLS A COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP WITH FIVE VICE CHAIRMAN IN A RETURN TOWARD THE PRE-LIN, EIGHTH PARTY CONGRESS MODEL. PREMIER CHOU IS CLEARLY FIRST AMONG THEM, BUT DOUBTLESS GLAD THAT HE DOES NOT STAND ALONE IN THE PRECARIOUS SUCCESSOR POSITION AS DID LIN. (PRECISELY HOW THE REGIME INTENDS TO DEAL WITH SUCCESSION SHOULD BE MADE CLEARER WHEN THE REVISED CONSTITUTION IS PUBLISHED.)

2. WANG HUNG-WEN APPEARS TO BE NEXT IN LINE AMONG THE VICE CHAIRMEN, AND HIS METORIC RISE TO THIS LOFTY POSITION LEAVES NO DOUBT THAT HE HAS MAO'S SPECIAL FAVOR, AND ALSO ENJOYS THE PATRONAGE OF HIS SHANGHAI CHIEF, CHANG CHUN-CHIAO. AT PRESENT HIS MOST IMMEDIATE FUNCTION PROBABLY IS TO ADD A NEEDED TOUCH OF YOUTH TO THE LEADERSHIP. AMONG THE OTHERS, KANG SHENG IS THERE, ALTHOUGH IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER HE HAS ANY REAL ROLE IN REGIME AFFAIRS. THE MILITARY OBTAINED THE LAST TWO VICE CHAIRMAN SLOTS; YEH CHIEN-YING CAN BE COUNTED ON TO GIVE CHOU SUPPORT, WHILE LI TEH-SHENG STRIKES US AS A MAN OF CONSIDERABLE POLITICAL SKILL, AND THIS COULD BE MORE IMPORTANT IN HIS BEHAVIOUR THAN HIS SUPPOSED CONNECTION TO CHIANG CHING.

3. CHANG CHUN-CHIAO IS NOT AMONG THE VICE CHAIRMEN, BUT IS LIKELY TO MERGE AS THE PARTY SECRETARY GENERAL, A POWERFUL POSITION IN THE PAST. HE WILL BE IMPORTANT ON THE STANDING COMMITTEE, WHICH OTHERWISE CONSISTS OF THE VICE CHAIRMAN, PLUS MAO AND PARTY ELDERS CHUT-TEH AND TUNG PI-WU. WITH NINE MEMBERS, THE STANDING COMMITTEE IS ALMOST TWICE AS LARGE AS THE PREVIOUS ONE, AND HAS A BALANCE OF SORTS AMONG THE YOUNG, MIDDLE AGED, AND CONFIDENTIAL

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OLD (VERY OLD).

4. TURNING TO THE FULL POLITBURO, IT IS EXACTLY THE SAME SIZE AS THE PREVIOUS ONE (21 FULL MEMBERS, FOUR ALTERNATES), BUT THERE ARE DRAMATIC CHANGES IN ITS COMPOSITION. THE MILITARY IS SHARPLY CUT BACK IN NUMBERS. OF THE SIX LIN-PLA SEATS EMPTIED IN THE LIN AFFAIR, ONLY ONE IS RETURNED TO THE MILITARY: DEPUTY NAVY COMMANDER SU CHEN-HUA, WHO IS A NEW ALTERNATE. SU IS THE ONLY

REHABILITEE TO MAKE THE POLITBURO. (HE WAS DENOUNCED IN 1967 AS A MEMBER OF THE HO LUNG CLIQUE. HE REAPPEARED LAST YEAR). THE OTHER FIVE SEATS HAVE BEEN GIVEN TO CIVILIANS. THREE ARE NATIONAL MODEL HEROES: PEKING WORKER-INVENTOR NI CHIH-FU, PEASANT HERO CHEN YUNG-KUEI, LEADER OF THE NATIONAL AGRICULTURAL MODEL AT TACHAI IN SHANSI; AND WOMEN'S FIGURE WU KUEI-HSIEN FROM SHENSI. PROVINCIAL MINORITY LEADERS WEI KUO-CHING, KWANGSI'S CHUANG-NATIONALITY CHIEF, AND SINKIANG CHIEF SAIFUDIN, A UIGUR, ARE ALSO ADDED. THREE OTHER SEATS, VACATED BY CIVILIANS (CHEN PO-TA, HSIEH FU-CHIH, AND HSUEH-FENG) ARE TAKEN BY THE RECENTLY EMERGED CIVILIAN FIGURES OF IMPORTANCE, WANG HUNG-WEN, WU TEH, AND HUA KUO-FENG.

5. THE NUMBER OF POLITBURO MEMBERS WITH PROVINCIAL RESPONSIBILITIES HAS DOUBLED, TO 14 OF THE 25, ALTHOUGH THIS FIGURE NEEDS TO BE QUALIFIED IN TERMS OF ITS SIGNIFICANCE FOR CENTER-PROVINCE RELATIONS. EASTERN CHINA MILITARY CHIEF HSU SHIH-YU, AND MANCHURIA'S MILITARY BOSS CHEN HSI-LIEN KEPT THEIR SEATS AS EXPECTED, BUT MOST IMPORTANTLY ARE NOT JOINED BY ANY OTHER REGIONAL MILITARY FIGURES. IN A REVERSAL OF MILITARY DOMINANCE BELOW THE CENTER, THE PROVINCIAL-LEVEL LEADERS WHO JOINED THE POLITBURO ARE CIVILIANS. THE MORE IMPORTANT ONES ARE: WU TEH FROM PEKING, WEI KUO-CHING FROM KWANGSI, HUA KUO-FENG FROM HUNAN, SAIFUDIN FROM SINKIANG, AND WANG HUNG-WEN FROM SHANGHAI (WHO KEEPS SHANGHAI IN THE LEAD WITH THREE REPRESENTATIVES).

6. ALL SURVIVING MEMBERS OF THE PREVIOUS POLITBURO ARE RETAINED, AND THE ALTERNATES ARE PROMOTED TO FULL MEMBERSHIP. CHIANG CHING AND YAO WEN-YUAN WERE PASSED OVER FOR THE STANDING COMMITTEE, AND THIS PROBABLY RESULTS IMPORTANTLY FROM THEIR CONNECTION WITH EXTREMISM DURING THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION. CHOU CAN TAKE SATISFACTION FROM THIS, BOTH AS A REBUKE TO EXTREMISM AND ALSO AS A DEMONSTRATION OF THE LIMITS TO CHIANG AND YAO'S INTIMACY.

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AND SUPPOSED INFLUENCE WITH MAO. ALTHOUGH CHOU'S STATE COUNCIL HAS FAR FEWER REPRESENTATIVES IN THIS POLITBURO THAN IT DID PRIOR TO THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION, IN ALL, THE NEW POLITBURO SHOULD PLEASE HIM.

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